WORKERS OF THE WORLD, UNITE

THE MILITANT

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Vertical Union Plan Is Adopted by A.F.of L. at Convention in Frisco

But Right Wing Steers Towards Class Collaboration Policy

Green's policy has met more opposition at the current convention than it has for a number of years. This opposition is not even tinged with progressivism. The real left wing has no voice in the convention. In the main the opposition that received a hearing on the floor primarily concerns jurisdictional disputes, and a clique fight between the labor leaders. These disputes over the question of enlarging the Executive Council, over the building trades jurisdictional dispute, and other such clashes, as well as the difference of opinion on the question of craft vs. industrial union, reflect the difference in policy among the labor leaders, not over the question of how they can aid the working class, but over the question of how they must act in order to retain their organization and its grip over the workers who are moving to the left.

The NRA and Richberg came in for criticism as the convention warmed up. The speakers did not point out the strike breaking role of the government in the recent strike wave. Rather, their criticism points out that there is not a sufficient development of the policy of class collaboration. They desire equal representation on the NRA Boards. The workers must realize that the main trouble with the A. F. of L. in the present strike wave was too much class collaboration and not enough class struggle. To "remedy" this error the labor agents of the capitalists are going to give the working class an increased dose of this poison.

Anti-Labor Drive Prepared

The A. F. of L. convention skips over the most important issues confronting the working class and organized labor. The reorganization of the NRA is merely the first indication of a new attack upon the workers' standard of living. All indications of the present economic and political moves that are being made by the bosses and their government point to a bitter drive against the workers. Before the drive has gotten under way Roosevelt is asking labor and capital for a truce. In fact every time an emergency situation exists, one which is favorable for the workers, the bosses' government asks for a truce. Capital gives this pledge and the labor leaders do likewise, and then under the cloak of this false harmony, the bosses' drive back the working class. Unorganized and betrayed by the leaders of the few millions of organized, the class cannot put up effective resistance. This is the main danger now. The truce is another knife in the back of the workers.

The bosses have taken advantage of the possibilities offered them in the NRA and have organized powerful national associations and trusts that are legally not "trusts". In addition to this the bosses have organized their company unions, which have become a powerful factor in industrial relations in many industries. On the other hand, the upsurge of the workers toward organization and struggle for better conditions has been checked by the policies and betrayals of Green, Lewis, Tobin, Woll and Company.

A. F. of L. Gains and Losses

The convention reports showed that the increase in membership is constantly wiped out or lowered considerably by the turnover due to unemployment. It must be remembered that these industries have been in chronic sickness for some time and the conditions here are relatively worse than in the other organized industries.

The jurisdictional fight and raids on the Brewery Workers Union by the Teamsters, Firemen and Engineers brought to the surface the issue of industrial unionism, but this issue was successfully sidetracked, and a vote of 15,558 to 9,305 favored the Executive Board's decision to uphold the position of 1933.

The jurisdictional fight over the three "outlaw unions", the carpenters, electricians and bricklayers, was brought on the floor and the body by a vote of 19,398 to 3,325 were for readmittance. The convention went on record for the 30-hour week and for wage increases. However, the Executive Council supports the Black-Connery Bill, which calls for the 30-hour week but implies a proportionate wage cut. The Stainists try to make capital out of this, but the fact remains that these muddleheads advocated the seven-hour day, instead of the six for several years, until the workers themselves laughed them out of court. They now keep silent or call for the shorter work week, except where the workers' pressure is sufficient to force them to adopt the slogan for the six hour day, five day week and no reduction in pay.

The Vertical Union Decision

A compromise has been reached at the convention on the question of the vertical union. The report of the resolutions committee calls for the issuance of international charters in the auto cement and and aluminum industries, was adopted by the convention. In these basic industries these internationals will be constituted as industrial

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Prices to Rise In Fake Truce Of Roosevelt

An industrial truce is to be declared in the war between capital and labor, and prices are to mount upwards.

These two pronouncements of our "Fireside" President are of course not unconnected. They mean that the worker is not to demand increased wages when the prices of food, shelter and clothing begin to skyrocket. Otherwise, what would be the point of the National Recovery Act, designed entirely to end the slump in price levels?

In a word, industry and business are to find recovery at the expense of the workers.

Again and again, this has been evident in the acts and speeches of the benign Mr. Roosevelt.

"President Roosevelt today emphasized his belief," says the N. Y. **Times** of Oct. 11, "that prices should go higher, and that the administration would continue on its course toward this goal."

And who is behind the President in this program? The **Times'** story is clear on this point.

"The price-raising aims of the administration grew out of conferences more than a year ago between the President and representatives of industry and agriculture, financial authorities and spokesmen for mortgage and farm credit institutions."

"Mortgage and farm credit institutions!" The farmer must get more for his crops so that the bankers can get back their loans. Otherwise the mortgages they hold will be worthless.

The wages of the workers are to be drained by high prices for the benefit of the manufacturer. The returns the farmer gets on his crops will be drained for the benefit of the mortgage holder. Beyond that, the deponent sayeth not.

Wages have been stabilized by the codes. But no check is to be placed on prices. Was there ever a more gigantic frame-up of the workers? Was there ever a more perfect swindle?

Who does not remember that the New Deal was to regulate both wages and prices in the interests of a better standard of living for the worker and consumer. Wages were to go up, and with increased wages the worker would buy more, and prosperity would again rule in the land.

Who does not remember the tremendous hullabaloo when the 20 employers of the Eureka Nosegay Bindery were given increases of 60 cents on their weekly pay checks, or when Mr. Fuzbuz of the Ajax Celluloid Collar Plant stated that he was putting ten (10) workers back to work to take up the slack in employment created when he discharged 25 men the week before.

Meanwhile, not a word about steadily mounting prices, until it became apparent that the manufacturers were getting restless. Prices were mounting, but not rapidly enough to suit them. Hence, the recent assurances. Prices will mount still higher. Wages will remain where they are. An industrial truce between capital and labor on wages. Unrestricted warfare on the workers' pocketbook.

Vote for the New Party in The Elections

Once again, the workers in New York have the opportunity of voting while they starve. After five years, in which hunger was a constant guest at the family table and the bull-headed, quick-to-club coppers an ever-present companion on the picket lines, the sober realization must be sinking in—the ballot is a worthless scrap of paper unless the might of organized, fighting labor stands behind it. Even then it is a subordinate weapon.

The New Deal versus the Old Deal, and a furious battle of words, is the issue cooked up by the gold-dust parties for the workers to get exercised over. The Old Deal, the workers have associated with the "great engineer", Herbert Hoover. His regime of "let them eat cake" and gassing bonuseers will not soon be forgotten by the workers despite all the prattle of "liberty".

The Gift-Horse

Then came the promises, fast and thick. Right to organize, "nobody will starve", "Peter will not be robbed to pay Paul". Hopefully the American workers looked to the 20th century Moses, taking his word on faith. But like the promises of Wilson "to keep us out of the war" the New Deal of Roosevelt turned out to be a gift-horse. Company unions, pernicious strike settlements, bullets, gas, bayonets, murdered strikers tell the story of the New Deal.

Yet the stories of Roosevelt's achievements are still being marched up and down the country like some biblical tale of how a savior brought succor to a suffering people. What are the facts? Prices have risen, profits have mounted while U.S. Steel threatens a new wage cut—that is all forgotten by the mealy-mouthed politicians. Stability to the capitalist system is what they see and what they want—and Roosevelt is their God. To vote for the subalterns of Roosevelt in New York State is to forget the battles of Frisco, Minneapolis, Toledo and textiles.

Perfidy at the Ballot Box

The labor skates in the New York State Federation of Labor counsel the workers to mark an X besides the "Democratic" Star. They do it with a purpose and not for the workers' interests. The plums of office, and positions on code authorities dangle before their eyes. Just as they tighten the vise of arbitration on the workers in every strike, these bureaucrats betray them at the ballot box, urging them to cast their votes for their worse enemies.

Not votes but struggle, on the picket line and not in the polling booth will win the most elementary needs for the workers. Not election but revolution will lift forever the sufferings of the working class. But contrary to what the capitalist politicians say, no working class vote properly directed is thrown away. Every vote for a revolutionary party is a vote against capitalism and a measure of the consciousness of the working class of its will to make an end to the system. Candidates, if and when they are elected, cannot collect concessions for the working class in the legislative chambers. They can, however, speak the message of proletarian revolution to the working masses from the capitalist tribune. And that is a great service, indeed!

Don't Vote for Parties of the Past!

Is there such a revolutionary party in the election campaign today? Certainly it is not the reformers of the Socialist party who would make claims to that title. Their offer is to alter the system piece-meal, to vote it out of office, to abolish capitalism gradually without violence. This ostrich program brought the workers to grief in Germany. A mere glance at the bloody vehemence with which the capitalist class contests the workers in strikes for union organization will show how utopian is this program. More, in the face of all that has happened in Germany, Austria and elsewhere such a program cannot but fail to strengthen the capitalist system and maintain it at is weakest moment.

The Communist party, with all its blare of trumpets and noisy demonstrations, has failed, misled and disrupted the working class movement wherever it was most needed. Its record in the face of Fascism is a picture of helpless impotence. In "smaller" matters, like the trade unions or strikes it has won a big zero for its efforts and left an everlasting stench on its name in militant labor circles.

To vote for either of these bankrupt institutions, Stalinist or reformist, would really be throwing

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Scottsboro Boys In Danger As I.L.D. Tactics Enable Lawyer to Knife Defense

Samuel S. Liebowitz, chief I.L.D. counsel in the Scottsboro case during the past year and a half, has quit the case after roundly denouncing the I.L.D. and the Stalinist party for their Scottsboro policy. He joins Alabama's legal lynchers in their efforts to harm the nine defendants by charging I.L.D. attorneys with attempted bribery of witnesses. More than this, Liebowitz, with the backing of a handful of Negro parsons has ordered the I.L.D. to get out of the case, and to turn it over to the Negro churches. The **Daily Worker** charges that Liebowitz has turned against the I.L.D. because that organization preferred to have the next appeal to the U. S. Supreme Court managed by Walter Pollak, who served in the first Supreme Court appeal. It seems that Liebowitz is another of those shocking "traitors", who somehow always turn up among the Stalinists' best buddies.

Joseph R. Brodsky, the I.L.D.'s leading staff attorney, who has repeatedly praised Liebowitz's work, now announces with pathos that he "never was so disappointed in any one" as he is in Mr. Liebowitz, and charges him with motives of self-aggrandizement.

The truth of the matter is that Sam Liebowitz has always been a doubtful ally, whose intention it was to get what he could out of the case while knifing the working class and the Negro people in the back. This he did effectively for a long time, **and the I.L.D. let him do it!**

On March 25, 1933, the **Militant** commented on the hiring of Liebowitz as follows:

"Liebowitz . . . is getting a free hand to attack the defense from a platform given him by the I.L.D. He attacks the mass struggle which has saved the Scottsboro boys four times, he maneuvers just as would an N.A.A.C.P. lawyer seeking to make a deal. When one considers these facts in relation to the equally regrettable fact that the mass defense movement has died down in recent weeks almost to the vanishing point, it begins to look as though the I.L.D. were teetering on the brink of a rotten and dangerous piece of opportunism."

"Democracy" in the I.L.D.

Unknown to the **Militant,** leading members of the I.L.D. and of the National Committee for the Defense of Political Prisoners of the I.L.D. had, even earlier, carried on a struggle on this question within those bodies. The Stalinist bureaucrats advocated the hiring of Liebowitz without putting to him the demand (compulsory, according to I.L.D. rules) that he maintain political silence during the case. Some members of the National Executive Committee objected. As a result, the N.E.C., by a resolution adopted at a meeting early in 1933 against the expressed wishes of the National Bureau and by the votes of the N.E.C. majority **including half the C. P. fraction,** instructed National Secretary Wm. L. Patterson not to retain Liebowitz without sending him a letter that, while lawyers were not required to espouse the I.L.D.'s views, they were not permitted to enter into political discussions of the matter on lines opposed to the I.L.D.'s line during the case.

Despite the passage of the resolution, Patterson never sent such a letter; instead he sent one which the N.E.C. had rejected, giving Liebowitz a free hand. This, Patterson confessed later, he did under orders from his "political friends", that is, the C. P. Political Bureau.

The Executive of the N.C.D.P.P. (including a party fraction) soon after **unanimously** adopted a resolution calling on the I.L.D. to publicly dissociate itself from Liebowitz's first vicious anti-Negro and class-collaborationist statements uttered before the opening of the Decatur trial. The I.L.D. ignored the request.

Not even when Liebowitz endorsed lynching in court, saying that if he believed for a moment that these nine "niggers" were guilty of rape, he would be "the first to swing a rope" did the I.L.D. protest! The Daily, staunch defender of Negroes, never reported this horrible statement of the chief I.L.D. counsel!

Those who had advocated the Leninist position ("The lawyer should be warned in advance, 'If, you son of a b——h, you play any dirty trick or commit any **political** OPPORTUNISM, . . . then, I, the accused, will immediately interrupt you publicly, call you a scamp, and announce that I reject such a defence, etc.; **and carry out this threat.**") were forced out of the I.L.D. and the N.C.D.P.P., and charged with "white chauvinism" (!) and "counter-revolutionary Trotskyism."

Now the chickens have come home to roost. Liebowitz, having extracted from the case all the personal glory and political capital he expects (he is no longer just a yegg's "mouthpiece"; he is a "defender of the oppressed" who dares call the boys "my clients"), leaves the I.L.D. flat in a critical moment and stabs it in the back. And the **Daily** has discovered that he is a "traitor". And Joe Brodsky is disappointed!

The situation is now complicated by the fact that Liebowitz and his parsons claim to have induced the prisoners and their parents to sign statements ordering the I.L.D. out of the case. If young Haywood Patterson writes that he would have "been released long ago if it hadn't been for that I.L.D.", he is mistaken.

The case has been in a stalemate for some time. If the I.L.D. had not played with Liebowitz, and had it continued to develop a militant mass campaign on the basis of a genuine united front, the boys might have been freed by this time. Certainly, their chances would be brighter now. **But had it not been for the I.L.D. and those who cooperated with it, the boys would have been in their graves long before Liebowitz was heard of outside the New York criminal courts.**

As a matter of fact, we may be quite confident that nobody knows this better than the boys and their parents. Of course, somebody might trick them into choosing Liebowitz against the I.L.D. by assurances that if the I.L.D. is kicked out, the boys will get off. How much such assurances are worth is

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RAISE NEW PARTY FUND! RECRUIT SYMPATHIZERS! BUILD THE LEAGUE!

"Without a revolutionary party there can be no revolution." The triumph of Fascism in Germany clearly revealed the bankruptcy of the Second and Third Internationals and the correctness of the International Communist League in proclaiming the need for a Fourth International and new revolutionary parties based upon Marxism. Since then the events in Austria, and now the revolution in Spain further confirm this position. A revolutionary Marxian party party must be built in France and the United States before it is too late.

The steps toward organic unity between the Communist League of America and the American Workers' Party is a development in the United States that all revolutionary workers should welcome. To speed up the unification and to launch the new party upon a firm foundation with strong cadres and Marxian theory should be the aim of every revolutionary worker. A new revolutionary party in the United States, the dominant imperialist country of world capitalism, will give a powerful impulsion to the revival of the international movement and the creation of the Fourth International.

You can help. You must help. You must help us in the establishment of a new revolutionary party. Help us build the League. Join the Communist League of America and become a foundation member of the new party.

Buy a Certificate and help build the foundation of the new party. Every member, every reader of our press, every sympathizer should buy a certificate. These certificates come in one dollar and five dollar denominations. Send in your contribution.

COMMUNIST LEAGUE OF AMERICA,
144 Second Avenue,
New York City.

Workers Battle Heavy Odds in Spain Against Onslaught of Reaction

Best Fight Is Waged in Districts Led by Worker's Alliance

In spite of very serious setbacks to the insurrectionary movement in Spain, the miners of Asturias are still putting up a valiant defense against all the armed forces of the semi-Fascist regime, dominated by Lerroux and Gil Robles.

As warships shell coast towns in the workers' hands, the embattled miners are barricading themselves in mountain strongholds, where they are beseiged by the combined land and air forces of the government. In Madrid and many other cities, throughout the country, street fighting still continues, but all indications now are that the premature, improperly prepared uprising has but small hope of success.

This does not mean that Fascism is already triumphant in Spain. The very fact that the workers have fought so valiantly, in spite of the confusion caused by the lack of a truly united leadership, undoubtedly indicates that Gil Robles will still have much to contend with before he can consolidate a dictatorship.

In this interim, there is still a possibility of reforming the proletarian forces forging the vanguard party so necessary if final victory is to be achieved. The heat of the present struggle will be followed by a regroupment within the working class movement in Spain. The new party must then be created, if the final triumph of Fascism is to be prevented. There is but little time left if complete disaster is to be averted.

United on the Barricades

In practically every city and factory town of Spain, the red flag was raised during this past week, as the workers staged their first desperate fight against the forces of reaction. Having learned from the German events, of last year, the Spanish Socialists, Anarchists, Syndicalists and Communists waged a united struggle on the barricades against the common enemy.

It is still too soon to draw the balance sheet and to make a detailed and intelligent analysis of this heroic struggle. We can only say that the revolutionary party capable of giving Leninist leadership was conspicuous by its absence. The Socialist Party, which has played the leading role, has demonstrated its incapacity to fulfill this necessary role. In the months prior to the events, the Socialist Party prevented the workers under its leadership, from participating in any serious **partial struggles,** explaining that all energies should be conserved for the insurrection itself. Thus the working class was led into an insurrection without having any partial gains behind it, and at a moment when the bourgeoisie felt most confident of its strength. We see therefore a combination of errors of opportunism and adventurism in the policy of the Socialists.

"July Days" In Spain

The present stage in Spain can be said to correspond roughly to the days of 1917 in Russia. The task of the moment was to stop the Spanish "Korniloffs" in their march towards power—and not to attempt a direct assault on power. But the Spanish Socialist Party mistook July for October and called for the transformation of the general strike into a general assault for power, at precisely the time when the enemy, flushed by a series of recent **partial victories** over the workers, would be best able to defeat the as yet imperfectly united working class. The inability to win over any appreciable section of the armed forces is another indication of the lack of serious **preparation** by those who insisted on an immediate insurrection at any price. Once under way however, there was no way to avoid the open armed struggle and the workers of every tendency realized that their duty was to strain every effort for victory even though the odds were overwhelmingly against them.

Another serious shortcoming for which the proletariat has paid dearly, is the lack of an organized, well functioning national united front. As pointed out in previous issues of the **Militant,** the S. P., while permitting its local and regional organizations to participate in the Workers' Alliances wherever these existed, sabotaged nevertheless the formation of the National Workers Alliance.

The anarchists in control of the C.N.T. on the other hand prevented their local organizations from joining the Alliances (excepting in Asturias), while the Stalinists decided to join only at the last moment (Sept. 12 to be exact), reversing completely their previous attitude under which they considered the Workers Alliances as "instruments of Fascism". Throughout the whole period, it is the revolutionary minorities (Communist Internationalists, Syndicalist libertarians, Maurin Group) who have been giving their complete and whole-hearted support to the Alliances.

Power of Workers Alliances

Experience has demonstrated that it is precisely in those regions

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Anti-Fascists Demonstrate In New York

BULLETIN

The three Yipsels arrested on the charge of painting anti-fascist slogans on the walls of the Yankee Stadium are being held without bail for the court of Special Sessions.

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On Columbus Day, October 12, about 1,500 workers representing all political tendencies in the labor movement except Stalinism met in Columbus Circle, as a preliminary to a demonstration later in the day at the Yankee Stadium, in a counter demonstration against the agents of Mussolini now touring this country in the guise of visiting students ostensibly studying university life in this country but in reality spreading the poisonous fumes of the black shirt variety of Fascism wherever they appear.

These "students" were to lay a wreath at the foot of the statue of Columbus in "honor" of the great explorer. But they never showed up. His excellency, the governor of the state of New York, pinch hit for them . . . and was greeted accordingly—by the anti-fascist demonstrators with a concerted raspberry and by the Fascists with outstretched palms in the manner of flunkeys greeting a fascist notable.

Valenti of La **Stampa Libera** who was the chairman of the united front introduced comrade Hugo Oehler of the Communist League of America as first speaker of the day. Oehler pointed out in the course of his remarks that the tragedy in Germany would not have transpired had both the major parties of the working class, the Socialist and Communist, united in common action against the Nazi hordes. Also, he stressed the need of united fronts of action as against united fronts which turn out to be nothing more than gab fests.

Stress Need for Unity

Following him representatives of the I.W.W., the Y.P.S.L., the Amalgamated Clothing Workers, the C. P.O., the Il Martello group, the Provisional Committee for Non-Partisan Labor Defense, the A.W. P., the taxi drivers union and the Socialist party spoke. Each stressed the need for united front activity against Fascism. Particularly stirring were the speeches delivered in Italian. Herbert Solow, speaking for the Non-Partisan Labor Defense, was very effective in a condemnation of police brutality. Citing Berlin as an example prior to Hitler's seizing power, he pointed out the futility and hopelessness of relying on the state machinery to hold off Fascism.

Oliver Carlson, speaking for the A.W.P., stressed the need for fighting Fascism in those countries where it is already entrenched but emphasized particularly the urgent need for common militant action against the incipient fascism in this country. With the concluding remarks of the speaker for the Socialist party, urging clubs instead of words for the fascists, the meeting wound up and the demonstrators were instructed to go to the Yankee Stadium to carry on the

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REVIEWING THE NEWS

Kidnapping

The capitalist newspapers, which so lightly pass over the starvation of the children of unemployed and half-paid workers, strive to work themselves and their readers into a frenzy over the Lindbergh and other kidnappings. In Detroit a girl of 11 years was sent out from house to house selling chances on a punch-board for the benefit of some Holy Catholic cause. She never came back. After several days of intensive search her body was found in the hastily vacated apartment of a moronic son of a preacher. The child had been attacked and then killed with a hammer. In the apartment were found some pictures of nude women. The murderer is still at large. He had previously, on two occasions, been sent to lunatic asylums for attack on young girls but was released. The police, in their usual inimitable fashion, went to all bookstores and stopped the sale of "Art" magazines. A campaign against house-to-house canvassing has also been started. But strange to say, no one in authority has had a word to say on the closing down of the Catholic school that sent the young girl out nor has anyone proposed the sterilization of all Christian preachers. Both measures appear more pertinent to the case than the raids on bookstores.

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"Periods"—Second or Third?

"In the second period of wars and revolutions, Lenin's Communist International, under Comrade Stalin's leadership, will lead the proletariat of all countries to the Socialist Revolution throughout the world."—**Pravda** editorial as reported in the N. Y. **Times,** Sept. 29. Wasn't the "third period" a period of wars and revolutions Haven't we been in that period since 1928? And wasn't comrade Stalin "at the head" during the entire period? In the "third period," the "period of wars and revolutions" comrade Stalin led "Lenin's Communist International" from one defeat to another, culminating in the smashing of the powerful labor movement in Germany. Is it some more of such "victories" that **Pravda** promises for this "second period of wars and revolutions" which is also the first period of collaboration with the League of Nations?

* * *

With the "Daily Worker"

"Overjoyed at Entrance of U.S.S.R. into League of Nations"—headline, **Daily Worker,** Sept. 25.

Cancelled lecture by George Siskind on "International Importance of Stalin's Foundations of Leninism". It was a tough assignment for George. No wonder he cancelled it.

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What! No Father Divine?

The American League Against War and Fascism held an anti-war, anti fascist rally in Mecca Temple. The speakers' list included Theodore Dreiser, Kurt Rosenfeld—"Refugee Prussian Minister of Justice" (an out and out "social-fascist"), a couple of "respectable" preachers, a professor and Charles Krumbein. The program included "Dances of Revolt', "Songs of Strife" and "Anti-war Skits". It seems an eminently fit gathering for Father Divine and his dancing angels and yet they are not listed in the attractions advertized in the **Daily Worker.** Can it be that Father Divine is reserved for street demonstrations and is barred from the more "respectable" anti-war meetings?

* * *

Browder Analyzes Textile Strike

"Yes comrades, the betrayal was possible also because we have not taught the workers to conduct a strike over the heads of their leaders."—Earl Browder, **Daily Worker,** Sept. 25. Isn't it just possible that if instead of setting up paper "Revolutionary" unions, had the omrades been instructed to work to build the regular unions they might have been themselves the leaders in some of the strikes, instead of shouting "over the heads" of both leaders and workers. Browder says further: "Yes, the betrayers betrayed. That is their business! But the task of revolutionists is to prevent betrayals, to make them impossible." But in America as in Germany the policies of Stalinism made betrayal and defeat inevitable. The task today most pressing of all is the building of a revolutionary party in America that will liquidate the Stalinist helpers of betrayal and make such betrayals as the textile "settlement" impossible.

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"A Truce in Industry"

Roosevelt, in 1934, like Hoover in 1929 proposes a truce between capital and labor. And the same labor fakers who agreed to Hoover's proposal, now joined by such "fighters" as Gorman, are falling over themselves for the chance to lead the workers into the "truce" trap. "Once bitten, twice shy." It will not be easy this time. —**BILL.**

JOIN THE COMMUNIST LEAGUE

SUBSCRIBE TO THE MILITANT

Workers «Greet» Black Shirts in New Haven

New Haven. — Two anti-Fascist demonstrations greeted Mussolini's salesmen upon their arrival in New Haven. Both were small in number, one extremely mismanaged and the other surprisingly militant. Both occurred on the historic Yale campus among million dollar buildings — buildings supposedly dedicated to academic freedom, culture, etc.

The first occurred as the Fascists descended from busses near Woolsey Hall. Cries of "Down With Fascism" filled the air. A scuffle immediately followed during which a Spartacus youth, an Anarchist, a few Y.C.L.ers and a C.P. member were beaten by spectators. The Anarchist stood off three attackers armed with umbrellas until knocked down.

The second took place when the Fascists emerged from the Yale dining hall. Communist League members and sympathizers, a member of the League Against War and Fascism, and members of the National Students League, eleven in all, and including two women, banded together in a compact unit and rent the air with, "Abasso il Fascismo".

They were immediately surrounded by Mussolini's Henchmen, some 15 in number and mostly laughing. The demonstrators kept on. "Abasso il Fascismo, abasso il Fascismo" was flung into the faces of the Fascists. They soon lost their good humor and began to sneer, jeer, and swear in Italian. "Abasso il Fascismo, abasso il Fascismo" was still flung into their faces. By now they numbered fifty.

Suddenly they turned into raging beasts. Cursing and shouting aloud they attacked the group of eleven with feet and fists. The women were struck over the head repeatedly with a heavy package. Blow for blow was given until the Fascists numbered 75. The anti-fascists then retreated to the other side of the street. Still blow for blow was given. The demonstrators gave ground slowly, fighting every inch of the way until, on the campus of the new Berkeley College, they were dispersed by odds of nine to one.

Ten of the Fascists pursued an instructor down Wall Street. Halfway down the block he made a stand. After smashing one of them a policeman intervened and he made his escape. The entire affair was characterized by the brutality of the Fascists. Groin kicking and rabbit-punching were their specialties. With unanimity they preferred the use of the feet to that of the hands. Their attempts to reach the groins of the males were executed with military precision.

The events leading to both demonstrations are important. Friday, Sept. 28, the acting chairman of the League Against War and Fascism appeared at the weekly meeting of the Spartacus Youth League and issued an invitation for participation in a united front demonstration in connection with the visit of the Fascist students to New Haven.

This being in line with the S.Y.L. policy of united fronts on specific issues, representatives were sent, on the following Tuesday, to the meeting of the League Against War and Fascism. After a prolonged discussion during which the old arguments against "Trotskyism" were paraded a vote was taken and the S.Y.L. was refused participation by 7 to 5.

The League Against War and Fascism went ahead with its plans for picketing with posters. When the time came to swing into action the 25 organizations affiliated with the League Against War and Fascism failed to materialize, few posters were in sight, there was practically no picketing, and absolutely no organization. As a result the sympathy of the spectators was lost due to their failure to understand what it was all about.

The second demonstration was hurriedly improvised by Communist League members and sympathizers and others including N.S.L. members and one member of the League Against War and Fascism who were disappointed with the first. Its aim was to reach the Fascist students themselves and let them know of the militant opposition in New Haven to them and their creed. From this point of view it was a success. Their equanimity was disturbed.

The solidarity shown by several intellectuals in connection with the second demonstration was heartening. A woman graduate student and an instructor and his wife stood in our ranks, using their fists for intellectual freedom side by side with unemployed and Communist League members. To them we extend our respect and admiration. To the N.S.L. members and the member of the League Against War and Fascism, who gave a good account of themselves, we extend the same. We shall always stand shoulder to shoulder with them on the field of battle. We deplore the fact that the 25 organizations affiliated with the League Against War and Fascism, that the C.P. and Y.C.L. were not present and had no organized resistence at the second demonstration. —**JAY HARDE.**

IN THE TRADE UNIONS

The Electrical Workers Strugele

For 29 years, in good times or bad, the Brooklyn Edison Company has not failed to pay its regular 8% annual dividend.

From 1910 until 1932 the workers also got a "dividend". It was called "profit sharing" and amounted to 8% of the yearly wage. But this had to be voted on each year. Since 1926, when the Brooklyn Edison came into control of the Consolidated Gas Company, there was increasing hostility on the part of the Board of Directors to continue this "labor dividend". The plan was to take this bonus from the workers of the Brooklyn Edison to make up the deficit of other subsidiaries of the Consolidated Gas.

In 1931, the sum of $13,400,000 was available for dividends. Actually, $8,800,000 were paid out, and $4,200,000 added to the already piled up surplus of $26,500,000. But the company decided it was in a tight hole. So it laid off 1,600 employees. This gave rise to the organization of the Brotherhood of Brooklyn Edison Employees, an independent union.

Dividends and Relief

In 1932, $10,000,000 were paid out in dividends and over 3,000 employees were laid off. But Parker, the president of the Brooklyn Edison Company, told the workers not to despair as he had been appointed Chairman of the Emergency Unemployment Relief Committee. The relief committee generously paid the rent of the unemployed and allotted families of four or more $2.50 a week to cover all other expenses.

In May 1933, the employees were "given" Saturdays off at their own expense. The following month the NRA was launched with the stipulation of the 35-hour week. Could it be that the Brooklyn Edison had had some advance information?

Profits meanwhile had been soaring to a dizzy height. Something had to be done. So on Aug. 18, 1933 the Public Service Commission ordered a rate cut which was to save consumers some $9,000,000 a year. This cut was never put into effect, however, as the New York Supreme Court granted a stay.

Bonus Cancelled

But the Brooklyn Edison Company was still in a terrible predicament. The only thing the starving directors could do to remedy their plight was to cancel the 8% bonus of the workers.

As a result, the Brotherhood grew by leaps and bounds. It asked a charter of the Brotherhood of Utility Employees of America and received it, becoming Local 102. It petitioned the Edison Company with the signatures of 600 employees, asking for an explanation for the withholding of the bonus. The answer received was that the employees did not get it because it was withheld—or words to that effect.

The union then started an organizing campaign with the following demands: 1) restoration of the wage cut of May 1933; 2) restoration of the bonus; 3) higher wages.

Unrest Grows

As a result of the NRA, which had been in effect about 9 months, there was an increase in power consumption and a nice gain in profit for the Edison Company. This served to increase the unrest of the workers.

The employers, alarmed at the growth of the Brotherhood, issued in April 1934 the "Employees Plan for Collective Bargaining", a company union idea which was to be rammed down the workers' throats. The circular which was sent out by Parker might have sounded fine to the naive, but the vanguard of the workers was not to be fooled. Of all the subsidiaries of the Consolidated Gas, the Brooklyn Edison had the best showing in the vote against the company union.

Afterward, the company thought that more bait was needed, especially did it want to take some of the wind out of the Brotherhood's sails: it restored half of the wage cut of May 1933.

"Loyal" Workers See Trick

But in spite of its spies and thugs, its cajoling and intimidation, it got a little more in the company union than it had expected. Working in conjunction with the Brotherhood, certain members of the company union circulated a petition asking for the restoration of the bonus and the full restoration of the wage cut. The company union backed up the petition, and it was sent to the management. The reply was a flat refusal, and as a result the eyes of a number of "loyal" employees were opened to the worthless nature of the company union.

One of the many purposes of the company union, and particularly of this one, is the use of the employees against taxation legislation. The company can "threaten" the legislators with wage cuts if the taxes are not to its liking.

Brotherhood Strengthened

In the meantime the Brotherhood had become a real threat to the bosses. Its total membership swelled to 2,500, and at the power station on Hudson Avenue alone it had 90% of the workers organized.

This was a little too much for the benevolent Mr. Parker. He fired Donegan, the president of Local 102, and Neilly and O'Reilly for "inefficiency". That this "inefficiency" was only discovered after a longer period of employment (the newest of the workers had been employed for over a year) shows that their discharge was the result of other causes—union activity.

Strike Threatened

Whether the Labor Board mediator, Mrs. Herrick, had turned the union's books over to the bosses or whether it was just company plain clothes men who had spotted the three union workers, is not known. At any rate, the union threatened to strike, putting forth the following three demands: 1) immediate reinstatement of Donegan, Neilly and O'Reilly and the right of all employees to organize into a union of their own choosing (the Brotherhood); 2) return of the bonus and restoration of the wage cut; 3) recognition of the Brotherhood of Utility Employees.

What is to be done? 1) Break up the company union as fast as possible and have the members **openly** join the Brotherhood; 2) Organize the office workers into the union; 3) Replace the cowardly leadership with men who will fight for the union, not for themselves; 4) Prepare to strike for a) union recognition and the closed shop, b) full restoration of the wage cut and the payment of the bonus.

—**KARL OSWALD.**

Drug Clerks Strike Winning

More than 65 per cent of the employing drug store owners in the Bronx have signed up with the Pharmacists Union, officers of the union announced today.

The retreat of the bosses followed the calling of a general strike of all drug clerks in the Bronx, with picketing of those stores that refused to sign.

The N.I.P. and Melburt chains signed up immediately, and a flying picket squad was kept busy getting individual employers into line. The union anticipates that all of the larger employing stores will be signed before the week is over.

The terms of the contracts include a $32.50 wage for a 54-hour week, with closed shop.

The strike was in protest against sweat shop conditions. Drug clerks were working 70 and 80 hours a week for as little as $18 or $20 a week. The Druggist NRA code, drawn up by the bosses, "generously" offered a $16 minimum for a 60-hour week, but even these sweat-shop conditions were not observed.

The Bronx County Pharmaceutical Association, a paper organization of the owners, has been vociferously attacking the union and raising the red scare, but the majority of its members have signed union contracts.

The union plans to extend its line of battle to other boroughs following its "mopping-up" campaign in the Bronx. Its membership has largely increased as the result of the Bronx victory.

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Belgian Y. C. L. Divides on United Front Issue

BULLETIN

The latest issue of La Voix Communiste, weekly organ of the Belgian Communist League, reports that the Charleroi District of the Y.C.L., under orders from the C. P., has voted to withdraw from the united front agreement they signed with the Young Socialist Guard and the Young Bolshevik - Leninists (Trotskyites). The decision was taken at a membership meeting of the District. The vote was 1,722 against 1,044. ALMOST 40 PERCENT OF THE Y. C. L. MEMBERSHIP FAVORED STAYING IN THE UNITED FRONT, ONE OF WHOSE EXPLICIT AIMS IS THE DEFENSE OF COMRADE TROTSKY AGAINST CAPITALIST PERSECUTION! The report adds that the Young Socialist Guard has thus far ignored the C. P.'s demand that it choose between a united front with the C. P. and one with the "counter-revolutionary Trotskyites."

* * *

Recently a united front agreement was reached by the Belgian Young Socialist Guard and the Belgian Young Bolshevik-Leninists ("Trotskyites"). It calls for general united front action against war and Fascism, and in defense of democratic rights and the rights of the working class. It takes in the struggle on behalf of class war prisoners, including Stalinists, Trotskyists and Socialists in Fascist prisons and concentration camps, and specifically mentions the defense of comrade Leon Trotsky, class-war prisoner of the French capitalist government.

The Political Bureau of the Belgian Y.C.L. (Stalinists), after much discussion and many fruitless efforts to get the Socialists to abandon comrade Trotsky, signed this joint pact. The pact, as we indicated in the **Militant** of Sept. 22, had objectionable features of the "non-aggression" variety, but in other respects represented an enormous step forward for the Belgian working class.

Whether the Y.C.L.'s action reflected a genuine turn to a revolutionary position, or simply overzealousness developed in an effort to obey Moscow's orders to get next to the S. P. at all costs, we cannot say. In any case, it is now catching holy hell from its elders. The Belgian C. P. Chatelet District Committee (why not the national office?) has addressed a letter to the Y.C.L. **demanding** that the impudent (or imprudent) youngsters pull out of the united front. **The sole reason is that they must not defend comrade Trotsky!**

The Stalinist Letter

This letter is one of the most interesting of recent products of the Stalinist mind. It has all the clarity and straight logic of a plate of well-cooked spaghetti.

"The Young Socialists," this document declares, "defend unity of action (on the basis of) a living unity of the fight of the proletariat against the bourgeoisie." The Young Socialists in this case, of course, are none other than the official S. P. youth organization (rank-and-file, lowest functionaries, middle functionaries, top functionaries and everything else). Good: there are no more Social Fascists among the Belgian Socialist youth. That ought to be worth a headline in both the **Daily Worker** and the **New Leader.**

"Under no persuasion and at no period of our agreement," the letter continues, "can we subscribe to any united action with the Trotskyites or the protection of Trotsky himself." Which recalls the days when every Stalinist declared in equally certain terms: "Never will we sit down around the table with the leaders of the Social-Fascists and discuss a united front against Fascism. Never!" What, never? Well, hardly ever.

Stalinist "Facts"

Then comes the explanation—the usual torrent of epithets and curses. And then a few "facts"—real, good Stalinist facts. For example: "Trotsky . . . since 1903 has been against the Bolshevik Party." Especially in his job as chairman of the Petrograd Soviet in 1905. And more especially as chairman of the Petrograd Military Revolutionary Committee in October, 1917. And most especially as Commissar of War in the first years of the Soviet Republic, and most, most especially when the names of Trotsky and Lenin were international shorthand for the Russian Revolution and the Communist International.

But that's not all. Trotsky, it appears, is now in France living "in a villa, with neatly arranged portfolios, surrounded by pedigreed hounds, by servants and secretaries!" No doubt it is because the French bourgeois government has made such splendid arrangements for his care that nobody has seen comrade Trotsky for six months, since he was spirited away from Fontainebleau by cops, and that the **Militant** has not had a line from him in the same period. What is he doing with those portfolios and secretaries?

"Trotskyites" and the United Front

Now the C. P. letter deals a really telling blow:

"The Trotskyites are in every country the enemy of the united front." We challenge the Belgian Communist Party and any other Stalinist party to produce a copy of their official documents concerning the united front and dated any time between 1928 and 1933 which does not brand the Trotskyites as "the counter-revolutionary vanguard of the bourgeoisie" **just because we were advocating the united front with the Social-Democracy.**

We recall to the attention of workers of all political faiths the role the C.L.A. played in bringing about the united May Day demonstration of left wing and Socialist organizations, characterized by the Stalinists (who held their own private double-Red counter-demonstration) as a hodge-podge of Social-Fascists with a "counter-revolutionary tail". As for Madison Square Garden—the less said the better.

Finally, this interesting fact: the Trotskyites "discredit the Soviet Union and try to hinder the international proletariat from coming to the aid of the Soviet Union." No doubt by our criticism of Stalin's theory and practice of "Socialism in One Country". Interesting—but . . . the Yipsel-Trotskyite pact which the Y.C.L. signed includes the following agreement:

"Active organization of the defense of the U.S.S.R., without thereby meaning the elimination of the freedom of criticism, independent of the common action,

(Continued on Page 3)

Letters to Editor

Dear Editor:

The **Daily Worker,** you will be gratified to learn, has not succumbed entirely to the sobering influence of its New York **Times** ex-editor, or its three (count them) daily editions. One may still cull from its columns the choicest tidbits and most delicious morsels of idiocy.

I submit for this week's prize the contribution of Mrs. Lincoln Steffens who writes under the name of Miss Ella Winters. It appears under the heading: "Three Well-Known Writers Add Their Bit to Daily Worker Drive." And Miss Winters' bit is a bit indeed.

She writes:

"The Captain of the Morro Castle may have thought sincerely that the fire could be put out and the insurance, if not the liner, saved. Even then it was tough on the passengers to be left asleep. It was fierce. And so unnecessary. **The crew knew and could have warned everybody aboard that doomed ship.** (Emphasis ours.) Well, on our good ship, the Earth, the crew knows, and here it is shouting "Fire!' We are not asleep, nor are we very drunk. I suggest that we stop, look and listen, passengers, crew and captains too.

"Read and heed the **Daily Worker** and the **Western Worker** and if they are not as 'good' technically as they should be, contribute some capital goods to them, and make 'em right—I mean Left.

(Signed) "Ella Winters".

Don't ask me what the lady means. Ella dances and flutters through the English language as she does through life (see Steffens' autobiography), and is not to be pinned down to ordinary sense or meaning. But will you just cast your eye over her sentimental defense of the captain of the Morro Castle (who blamed the Reds for the disaster) and her scurrilous attack on the crew. Could the Ward Line desire a more ardent defender?

Since the Pleistocene God first brought order into chaos, has there ever been anything as hopelessly muddled as a Stalinist liberal? And Ella Winters has devoted her life (God save the mark!) to workers' defense!

—**LEWIS BURKE.**

"Off Again, On Again, Gone Again, Finnegan"

According to the latest **Communist,** the Stalinist Party is growing by leaps and bounds. Leaps into the organization, and bounds out of it.

Earl Browder reports to the C.C. that there were some 24,000 members in January of this year. He adds that 17,000 new members were admitted between January and August. As a result, **the actual membership in July was 20,000.**

How come? Simple: during the same period 21,000 members quit. This means that **almost everybody who joins the Stalinists these days, quits within a period of eight months** . . . and often takes along somebody else with him.

The omniscient Browder "explains" this interesting phenomenon. It seems that "politically" the masses are coming to the C.P., but the C.P. is falling down on the job "organizationally". Strange, how the line can be correct and the application correct, and the objective situation correct . . . but 21,000 people walk out—because the unit organizer is no good.

The truth is that, sailing under the stolen banner of Leninism, the C. P. is able to pick up many workers who want to take their place in a revolutionary party, but who soon find that they can not stand for the wild and wooly antics of Stalinism. Another factor is that the standards set for admission to the C.P. are incredibly low. Neither ideological development nor testing in action is required. Anybody who can cheer the local functionaries can join the C. P. Consequently, all sorts of petty-bourgeois and even lumpen-proletarian elements drift in for a diversity of rotten reasons . . . and drift out as soon as it pleases them to do so.

One of the tasks of the American section of the new international, as soon as it is formed, is going to be to save the serious elements from the disheartening experience of a few months in the Stalinist movement, which often disables them for the struggle for a long period.

MARCH OF EVENTS

The Spanish Insurrection

The insurrection of the Spanish proletariat against the pro-fascist Lerroux ministry, comes as the result of the direct provocation of the reactionaries in their assumption of three strategic posts in the government,—the ministries of agriculture, justice and the interior. Gil Robles, head of the Catholic party of the big landowners and industrialists, gauged the moment when the power of reaction had reached its new height under the republican regime and would have declined without a direct assault on the workers and peasants for the consolidation of power. The hatred of the monarchy taught these monarchists to proceed cautiously, to put forward the lying slogans of "defence of the republic" at this stage so as to prepare the way for restoration at a later stage.

The direct challenge of the Spanish fascist forces could not be ignored by the working class parties despite its character of provocation. The ardent and fierce struggle of the industrial workers, the miners, the farm laborers after the calling of the general strike sets forth in bold and flaming relief once more the will of the workers to resist and sacrifice for the common good. Even defeat in a battle of such intensity is the guarantee of renewed and victorious struggle on the morrow. This outburst of the masses adds new splendor to the heroic traditions of the Spanish proletariat.

* * *

Lessons of the Struggle

The outstanding lesson of this struggle against fascist consolidation of power is the absolute need for revolutionary leadership having clear aims and capable of guiding the masses with correct revolutionary policies. The working class cannot achieve success, cannot establish the dictatorship of the proletariat, without a trusted revolutionary leadership that has gained the hegemony of the working class in the course of historic struggles, "partial" battles, political and economic, that lead up to the final decisive bid for power. Such a leadership did not exist in the present instance. The forces of the Bolshevik-Leninists, handicapped by the existence of the two bureaucracies of the Socialist and Stalinist forces, as yet too small in numbers to have deep roots among the masses, despite their correctness of policy, could not play at the moment the decisive role. The socialists broke only yesterday with the "republicans" with whom they had been in a treacherous bloc to keep the workers under the yoke of bourgeois democracy; that is, under the yoke of the ruling class. None of the "left" forces showed that ability to supply, in the every-day struggle, the program combined with the leadership in the "partial" demands for which the masses could have fought properly and eagerly, that would have rallied the workers and peasants to the revolutionary party and the revolutionary cause. The Cortes was never made a tribune from which to establish those necessary bonds with the masses. Thus in the present situation the masses showed their readiness to rise to the heights of proletarian revolution and victory.—but the leadership was insufficient.

* * *

The United Front

This fact is also shown in the united front established so late in the day. This united front gives birth to incipient soviets at the very moment when insurrection becomes the order of the day. The Stalinists hail the soviets uncritically now, not understanding that soviets cannot be built only for immediate insurrection, that soviets have first to be fostered in the form of a united front of all forces of the working class for smaller aims of defence, for the carrying out of strike struggles, for the fight for working class relief, etc. Only through soviets (Juntas) thus created early in the struggle can the working class make the necessary contact with the soldiers and peasants that will help to win over these forces to the revolution when the decisive moment arrives. Otherwise only the miscarriage of the revolution can result. Otherwise the peasants do not rise in overwhelming numbers with the workers to seize the land and disarm reaction, the soldiers are not ready to turn their arms against their officers, etc. Otherwise the united front becomes a matter of manipulation from the top in which the Companys can agree with the Aznanas that they will not permit the workers to take the offensive and lead the way to the dictatorship of the proletariat,—but will merely defend bourgeois democracy. Otherwise no Marxian vanguard can, in the course of every-day struggle, show its militantly correct leadership and win the masses away from the misleaders and betrayers whose sole aim is to put a brake on the action of the masses in order to maintain their own bureaucratic control. —**JACK WEBER.**

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QUESTION BOX

N. L., RICHMON—

Question: In the automobile and steel industries there were threats of a strike a short while ago, but this was choked by the A. F. of L. bureaucracy. Since then there has not been much sign of a strike revival in these lines of production. In the textile industry the labor fakers were able to prevent the first threat of a strike from maturing but were unable to resist the pressure of the ranks a second time. How do you explain the difference in the attitudes of the workers in these industries?

Answer: The attitude of the workers in this instance is conditioned by the state of the industry itself. In general, the workers can go on strike, during a period of revival from a crisis, primarily because they find themselves back again in the factories. It is obvious that unemployed workers cannot strike. Textiles, being an industry devoted chiefly to producing means of consumption is less effected as far as its market is concerned than the industries producing means of production. In 1932, 41.7% as much, textiles were exported as in 1929 whereas only 18.5% of the 1929 exports were realized by the machinery and vehicle industries in 1932. As compared to 1929, about 73% of the textile workers had employment in 1932, whereas only 50% of the workers in the heavy industries were working that year.

The threat of a steel strike came at the time when steel was oprating at about 55% of capacity. The automobile strike threatened at a time when production and sales rose to their highest in four years. Steel has since dropped to around 20% of capacity, and automobile production has likewise fallen off. Many of the workers are back on the streets, and if they are talking strike, are in no position to materialize it. The number of textile workers who remained in the factories has for the most part been stationary. This, essentially, is why they appear more militant than their brothers in heavy industry. A revival of the latter will quickly demonstrate that the appearance is decepive.

* * *

L. B., NEW YORK—

Question: In the **Daily Worker** of October 2, 1934, the editor, in explaining the difference between the Socialist and Communist parties, makes the following statement: "Socialism is defined as that society which is transitional to Communism, a society in which the ruling class is the proletariat, governing through its dictatorship, through Soviet power. In the Soviet Union today, the proletariat has already laid the basis for a Socialist society, but they are still on the way to a Communist society." This seems contradictory but I am not clear. Can you explain?

Answer: The contradiction is self-evident and flows from the "theory of "Socialism in one country". The Stalinists simply attempt to extinguish the difference between the proletarian dictatorship and Socialism in order to harmonize the "theory's" contradictions. At the present time the ruling class in the Soviet Union IS "the proletariat, governing through its dictatorship". According to the **Daily Worker** this is Socialism, yet in the same breath it states that only the basis for Socialism has been laid. What profound wisdom! The above-quoted Stalinist definition for Socialism is false. Under Socialism classes will have been abolished and the ruling class and its state power, i.e., the dictatorship of the proletariat, will have withered away, since coercion of one class by another cannot exist in a classless society. Under Socialism there will no longer be a proletariat since the existence of the latter implies the existence of a capitalist class whether or not the proletariat has seized the power from it.

* * *

G. T. AND R. L.—

Question: A recent issue of the Minneapolis **Labor Review**, official organ of the Central Labor Union, reports the C.L.U. has adopted a resolution approving Governor Olson's conduct during the drivers strike, and stating he did not use government power against the workers. That this misrepresents the truth is known to everybody who knows anything about the strike. The **Labor Review** adds that the resolution was seconded by one of the leaders of the drivers' union, Grant Dunne. What is the position of the League on this question?

Answer: The League has openly and consistently attacked Olson's strike-breaking moves, during and since the strike. Similarly, the members of the League in Minneapolis warned the workers against Olson and his troops before the troops came in, denounced Olson when he brought the troops in, and took the lead in arousing working class sentiment which eventually forced Olson to retreat to an extent that saved the strike. The League has not changed its position on the question since the strike. Governor Olson stands convicted of using the troops in strike-breaking activities, the only way in which the National Guard of the boss state can ever be used.

It was not Grant Dunne who seconded a resolution praising Olson's strike policy, but William Brown, President of the union. The Minneapolis **Labor Review** statement is incorrect, and we are informed that the editor intends to publish a correction; it may have appeared by the time this issue of the **Militant** is off the press.

The facts are these: the Central Labor Union is made up of union delegates who are almost without exception members of the Farmer-Labor Party. They strongly disapproved the attitude of the C.L.A. during the strike; they were deeply concerned to protect Olson's reputation with the workers and, even at the cost of letting his attacks on the strike go unanswered, they did not want him to be criticized. When the C.L.U. headquarters was raided by the troops and the C.L.U. functionaries chased into the street, for example, the Labor Review quoted in black-face type a statement by Olson that this was done for the benefit of the workers!

Now that the strike is over they are doing their best to restore the gilt to the exposed clay feet of their idol, Olson. Hence the resolution adopted by the C.L.U. This resolution was introduced by an official of the milk drivers' union who is a member of the F.-L. P. It was seconded by William Brown, who is a member of the F.L.P. and has been for some years.

The League, which was glad to see Brown go into the Hennepin County Central Committee of his party during the strike and demand that they protest against Olson's policy, and which was glad to see Brown denounce Olson's policy publicly during the strike before scores of thousands of workers, cannot agree with his change of estimate of Olson. Of course, the League has no responsibility for Brown, who is not and never has been a member of the League.

The manner in which trade union struggles are transated into political struggles is clearly illustrated by this incident. The particular strike struggle having ended, many workers turn their thoughts to other problems and cease to guard themselves against the misleading effects of such resolutions as this one of the Minneapolis C.L.U. Only a new revolutionary party, with its own ticket in the field to keep these issues before the working class and to teach them to vote as they strike, **for the class and its vanguard,** can counteract the reformists of all varieties.

Program of the Latin American Bourgeoisie

The American Popular Revolutionary Alliance (better known as the Apra) is the most important organization of the Latin American left bourgeoisie. Centered in Peru, it claims sections in all or most of the countries that make up Latin America. For a while, just as Calles of Mexico, it was represented in the Stalinist Anti-Imperialist League of Brussels. It is vociferous in its praise for the Soviet Union and the methods used by the Bolsheviks in Russia—but only for Soviet Russia, and not to Indo-America, the term they use when speaking of Latin America. Marx, Engels, Lenin, Trotsky and Stalin are cited in defending their arguments—of course a misuse of all but the last. Undoubtedly large numbers of workers and peasants follow this organization. For this reason, and for the reason that all conditions affecting Latin America react in the United States, this group deserves some attention, not only by the comrades of Latin America but also in the United States.

The Apra Program

The theoretical bases of Apraism can be summed up in the following points:

1. Co-operation of the three classes, who are oppressed and repressed by imperialism is necessary to solve the problems of Latin America. These three classes are the proletariat, the peasantry and the native capitalist class. The aim of this co-operation is to set up a democratic republic that will free the native capitalist class from the strangulating hold of imperialism, and will allow the development of a native industrialist class.

2. The state that will be set up as a result of the three classes above named joining in a united front within the Apra will be the democratic republic, which will, according to the theoreticians of the Apra, represent all three classes.

3. The establishment of the democratic republic and the freeing of native industry from the bonds of imperialism will allow the development of the proletariat, so as to—in the future to be sure—take over the nation and set up socialism. Up to that time the proletariat must co-operate and support the bourgeoisie in the development of industry and be only the left wing in the national bloc.

4. It is not necessary to banish imperialism from Latin America, but only control it, so that the advanced technic that imperialism brings will be utilized for the development of national industry. How imperialism will be controlled is not stated.

5. Co-operation with the liberal groups of Latin America in favor of the above program and against imperialism, particularly Yankee imperialism.

Menshevism in a New Guise

It is clear that in the main we have in the Apra an organization that in nearly every point is a repetition of the program of the Menshevik wing of the labor movement in pre-revolutionary Russia. To us who were in the Communist movement at the time of the Chinese events of 1925-27, this program has also a familiar ring. Were we not told in China that the Kuo-Min-Tang was a bloc of four classes: bourgeoisie, petty bourgeoisie, peasantry and proletariat, and that the class struggle between these four classes must be placed in secondary place until the solution of the "national task?" That the victory of this four-class party would allow the development of the proletariat?

The Chinese proletariat was chained and delivered to the executioner's sword by this Menshevik policy of Stalin and Co. Haya de La Torre, the very able leader of the Apra, stole his program from the Stalinists and the Stalinists from the Mensheviks. That each thief curses the other is not at all strange but very natural. But these denunciations do not hinder the basic theoretical unity of all these groups.

Haya de La Torre has this to say describing the native capitalist class of Latin America: We are as a child already senile without having enjoyed maturity. This statement is much more profound than de la Torre imagines. He hopes to be able to rejuvenate this senile class by a number of utopian measures. For the aid of the proletariat in this task he solemnly promises that when industry is developed, well, we will then talk about the emancipation of the proletariat. To make this hoax go down more smoothly, with less griping on the part of the proletariat, he sugar-coats it with a quotation of Marx: that the economic forces of one society must be developed before it can be replaced by a more progressive one; and that the forces of the new society must be prepared to take over the economic structure. And since the bourgeoisie cannot exist without a proletariat, and there is no bourgeoisie talking about in Latin America, obviously before a social change is possible both the Latin American industrialism and the bourgeoisie and proletariat must appear. Industry must develop on a bourgeois basis.

Kinship with Stalinism

All very erudite and all showing a basic kinship with Stalinism and with reformism. Did not reformist socialism shout that the proletarian revolution was impossible in Russia because the economic forces of Russia were not sufficiently developed for the transition to socialism in Russia? Stalinism just reverses the coin and, basing itself upon the same conception, argues vehemently that the economic forces of Russia were sufficiently matured for the construction of socialism in one country, Russia.

Neither Stalinism, nor Menshevism, nor the Apra, can understand that the fundamental ideas of Marx were built not upon one country but upon capitalism as a world system and that the economic forces of capitalism as a world system are now sufficient for the transition to a higher stage in the evolution of the human race, socialism, as a world system.

This scientific truth works out in Latin America as follows: that while there is not a large developed native capitalist class there is a large developed proletariat. This proletariat is an integral part of the world proletariat, an integral part of world economy.

The Latin-American Proletariat

This large proletariat is employed by the imperialist firms. Imperialism directly through foreign ownership, or indirectly through the banks, is directly involved in the agriculture (fruit, cotton, rubber, coffee, hemp, cocoa), meat and leather, wool, in mining, in railroads and power and light. In these industries high grade, advanced technique is used. The proletariat, organized in huge works, uses the most modern tools.

The native bourgeoisie on the other hand is mainly occupied in producing for the local market, the peasantry and the above described proletariat. It is of a low level technically, bordering on artisanry, using antiquated methods.

The proletariat of Latin America is the product not of the native capitalist class but of the world capitalist class, of imperialism. Latin America as an independent entity, is not and never will be ready for socialism, but the world of which Latin America is part, is overripe.

The Road of the Proletariat

The Latin American proletariat must not wait to make the proletarian revolution, neither for the development of native capitalism, as advocates de la Torre, nor for the proletariat of North America. It can disregard all those holding these ideas and who use Marx's and Lenin's names in defence of their bourgeois point of view. The proletariat must go forward to the establishment of a proletarian dictatorship which will at the same time liberate Latin America from imperialism, divide the land and give it to the peasants on either an individual or collective basis, according to the peasants' wishes, confiscate the wealth of the imperialists and, without waiting for de la Torre's "intvitable" development of industry, crack the chain of imperialism in its very weak Latin American link.

Before that can be done Stalinism and its brother, Apraism, must be driven from the field. The permanent revolution is the only road the Latin American masses can take. The proletariat of Latin America, using advanced technic industrially, should become the bearers of advanced proletarian thought.

* * *

De la Torre imagines a three class party. It is logical that he should imagine a three class state, where the only repression would be against the imperialists. That would be a wonder to see: a state representing the workers as well as the capitalists. Such is the Marxism of de la Torre.

* * *

In a previous article we discussed the idea of controlling imperialism, which is the watchword of the native bourgeoisie of Latin America. We explained the economic impossibility of the weak native bourgeoisie controlling powerful imperialism which can bring such a vast amount of pressure against the native bourgeoisie, up to the point of intervention.

Perspectives

It is true that a proletarian dictatorship, under the direction of a Marxist party with certain conditions can and, in Russia, did allow an amount of controlled foreign capital to enter its country. The proletariat, however, is quite distinct from the native bourgeoisie. One is strong, brave; the other weak, cowardly. The native bourgeoisie may start a movement against imperialism but this movement is carried through by the proletariat, far beyond the point of "controlled imperialism", far beyond the limits set by the most radical bourgeoisie. Terror stricken, the native bourgeoisie will flee to the arms of imperialism for protection from the aroused masses. In such a condition of affairs "control" is a phantasy of impotence.

The emancipation of the Latin American proletariat lies in the *abolition of imperialism.* Such a gigantic task requires the unity of all of Latin America's proletariat (at well as the aid of the North American wage slaves) against the military and economic aggression of Wall Street. Summarizing this unity is the slogan of the Soviet United States of Latin America.

Weakened by the loss of one of its major sources of super-profits, and faced by a working class inspired by the revolution in Latin America, the master class of the United States will be more easily vanquished by its revolutionary proletariat.

—C. CURTIS.

Belgian Y. C. L. Divides

(Continued from Page 2)

with regard to the foreign policy of the U.S.S.R. This reservation is made by the Young Socialist Guard and the Trotskyist Youth."

Does this not make the Young Socialist Guard also "the vanguard of the counter revolutionary bourgeoisie" seeking to discredit the U.S.S.R. But the Belgian C. P. wants a united front with them, all right. How come?

After all these interesting educational arguments, the C. P. informs the Y.C.L. that "you **must** be convinced that we really desire to accomplish the united front and unity of action with the Young Socialists and **their leaders.**"

The whole delightful document winds up with a slogan:

"Forward to the united front of action without the Trotskyites!"

O tempora, a mores! What has come of the proud boast of the Stalinists that they could not be bothered with the Trotskyites because the Troskyites have no influence in he working class? Nowadays the poor Stalinist bureaucrat has to have special campaigns to leave out the Trotskyites.

What the answer of the Belgian Y.C.L. will be to the lying, slanderous bulldozing document of their elders, we cannot predict (although a guess would be pretty safe), but this much is becoming clearer:

The unprincipled bureaucratic disrupters who once would not "sit down around a table with the Social-Fascist leaders" journeyed all the way to Milwaukee last month to beg unsuccessfully for a chance at that table. They will in not too long a time make a more unwilling journey, a real trip to Canossa, to sit around the table with the Bolshevik-Leninists too.

—HARRY STRANG.

The History of the Frisco General Strike

By JIM OSBORN and DICK ETTLINGER

(Concluded in this issue)

The deciding factor that carried this motion was the threat that, if it did not carry, martial law would be declared throughout the city and the general strike committee would be arrested.

It was during the heat of the strike that the "red raids" took place. The newspapers had been agitating for such a measure for weeks inciting the police and authorities to act. Starting with the raiding of the headquarters of the Marine Workers Industrial Union, every so-called radical headquarters were raided, the occupants beaten, arrested and the headquarters wrecked. The papers claimed that the raids were the work of union vigilantes, but it has definitely been established that they were organized by the police with the tacit if not open support of the labor officials. Following these raids the red hunt was on in earnest. On both sides of the bay hundreds of militants were beaten and arrested, and herded like cattle in jail. The center of the attack was the Communist Party, since it was the largest organization in the field, but all revolutionary groups suffered.

The "red" raids showed very clearly the isolation of the Stalinists from the masses of workers, especially those in the unions. The lack of base in the trade union movement prevented the rank and file of the unions from realizing that these attacks were directed against the general strike with the view of demoralizing the workers and breaking the backbone of the strike. The party did nothing to dispel this confusion. It fought alone and made no effort to bring into the struggle the other sections of the revolutionary movement nor the working class as a whole. Its tactics were based as usual on the "united front from below" It rallied merely its own membership and a handful of immediate sympathizers.

In connection with the strike we must analyze the role of the Stalinist party. In the ranks of the waterfront workers they were an important factor and were in many ways responsible for the militancy displayed. But their past weighed heavily on them. They were still of the belief that the A. F. of L. was a company union in which there is little use to struggle. It is true they did not take this attitude as far as the I.L.A. was concerned. In that union they instructed their membership to work from within. On the other hand, in the seamen's organizations they made no effort to penetrate but brought to the forefront, in opposition to the A. F. of L. unions, their own Marine Workers Industrial Union. Within the ranks of the other A. F. of L. unions, having no organized fraction their influence was small in spite of the militancy of the rank and file. Also in the I. L. A. their refusal to build a genuine left wing composed of all militants and progressive elements narrowed their base considerably. The **Western Worker** in its attacks was equally bitter both towards the bureaucrats and towards elements in the radical movement who would not endorse the policy of the C. P.

Another crowning blunder of the Stalinists was that of permitting the **Western Worker** to become the official strike paper on the waterfront. This openly put the label of communism on the leadership and gave considerable support to the red baiting of the capitalists participated actively in the general against the strike. As was said before, what was needed was an official newspaper of the striking unions similar to the one published in Minneapolis, a newspaper which would militantly fight and carry on agitation for the strike, but which at the same time, would not take on a communist party character. Here again in our opinion the interests of the masses were sacrificed to the immediate interests of the party, which hailed the fact of the **Western Worker** being the official strike organ as a great victory for Communism. Last but not least, one must bring to the front, the question of the general perspectives of the Stalinists.

It is true they modified to some degree their red trade union line to meet the concrete situation on the coast, but basically they never altered their policy. Their hopes were embodied in the formation of a waterfront federation or union which would include the Marine Workers Industrial Union and which would of course be under their leadership. Such an organization could only develop as the result of a split within the ranks of the A. F. of L. and the breaking off of the I.L.A. and sections of the other marine unions from that organization. In fact the line of the Stalinists had not altered. Only in its concrete application had it temporarily been modified.

Due to our lack of forces, the League was not able to play a very important role during the strike. We had on the Oakland side one comrade who was in the I.L.A., a militant worker who was a leading member of the picket committee. Nevertheless it must be admitted that the League never was able to concretely develop a policy for this comrade to follow in his union. Unfortunately also he died from heart attack during the course of the strike. We also during this period were able to play a leading role in the building up of a Shipyard workers union whose membership participated actively in the general strike. The League also issued a leaflet analyzing the issues of the strike and calling upon the workers to present a solid front to the attacks of the employers. In San Francisco, two of our members were members of the Ladies Auxiliary of the I.L.A. and participated actively in the picketing carried on by this organization. For this activity they were arrested by the police and it is interesting to note that the I.L.D., in spite of it calling itself a labor defense organization refused to handle the case of our comrades on the charges that they were "Trotskyists" and "counter-revolutionists".

In concluding this analysis the outstanding lesson of the strike brings again to the front the all important necessity of militant leadership in any struggle. In spite of the fighting spirit of the masses the leaders were able to break the backbone of the strike. The fight to win the trade unions for a militant policy is the burning question of the moment.

The labor movement in San Francisco in spite of the defeat of the general strike and the "red" raids is not crushed. The unions are growing, the spirit of struggle is increasing, and the need for industrial unionism as the next step is being hammered home more and more.

The task is to build an organized left wing within the framework of the bonafide labor movement, a broad left wing, having for its aim the task of wresting the leadership of the labor movement from the conservatives on the basis of a program of militant action and struggle.

It is to this task that the League must devote its energy. Its ability to activize such a movement and play a dominant role in the building of such a left wing will determine whether or not it is capable of building the new party.

WORLD OF LABOR

BOLIVIAN COMMUNISTS AND THE CHACO WAR

It is becoming apparent that both Bolivia and Paraguay are already breaking under the strain of war in the Chaco. Unless other countries of the South American Continent are drawn into the conflict, the struggle between the local agencies of Standard Oil and Royal Dutch Shell reflected through this war may be obliged to seek other forms of solution.

In Bolivia, the last recourse, general mobilization is already being taken. At the commencement of the struggle all of the bourgeois political parties waved the banner enthusiastically, inflated with optimism. The war would be brief and with booty for all. Every dispute between these parties: Nationalist, Republican-Socialist, Liberal and "Genuine", revolved around the best method of serving the imperialist master. The bourgeois oppositions vied with each other as to how to wage a bigger and better war.

Only one voice of **absolute** opposition to the war was heard. This was in the two or three proletarian demonstrations in Cochabamba, La Paz and Potosi, calling for the fraternization of the soldiers at the front. These demonstrations took place in May 1932, two months before the mobilization and were immediately followed by a wave of merciless persecution of the revolutionary workers and students. The prisons were opened, and two months later the military "trials" took place and the "eliminations" at the front in the Chaco. From that time, the repressive apparatus of the bourgeoisie was able to smash the revolutionary organizations. Many revolutionists gave way to panic while others went over to the service of the class enemy, but the greater part fulfilled their duty under conditions of the greatest difficulty.

Faced by the rising tide of the bourgeois opposition, which criticized its manner of conducting the war, the Bolivian government found it necessary to resort to a strategem in order to hold the various parties in line. Thus the Communist bogy was raised. Pretexts were created for legitimizing the government's permanence in power and its rigorous measures. In this way its own bourgeois opposition was frightened. For ths purpose cases of police provocation were prepared. Most prominent perhaps are the cases of comrades Duran Roger, Nin Caules, and Rodriguez, and that of the Indian insurrection engineered by the police agent Escobar, which cost the lives of more than five thousand Indians of the Altiplano region. In the same manner the system of provocations exist among the troops at the front for the purpose of "uncovering" and "eliminating" the Communists.

The young inexperienced Communist movement of Bolivia was unable to hold together under the trials and tests of the war period. It has finally reached the point where the only possibility of a revolutionary rebirth of the movement rests with the groups of exiled revolutionists whose hands are still free, who have had the opportunity of learning from international experiences, and among whom the sentiment for a new Communist Party and a Fourth International has already taken root. These comrades have already taken up the struggle for the defense of those imprisoned in Bolivia.

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STRIKE WAVE RISES IN CUBA

The Cuban revolution, having suffered a serious setback in January 1934 when the Grau San Martin regime fell to make way for the reactionary Mendieta government, now gives strong evidence of preparing to take another leap forward.

Mendieta has had the unconditional support of American imperialism in return for the services he has rendered American interests in the island since overthrowing the weak-kneed petty bourgeois Grau government. Wall Street has tried to make things easy for him. The abrogation of the Platt Amendment and the Reciprocal Trade Treaty, were expressions of this solidarity. It was hoped in this way to pacify the rebellious mood of the masses, by lulling their vigilance with a few well gnawed bones and a sweet lullaby. At the time that the Platt Amendment was adopted into the Cuban Constitution and formalized in the Permanent Treaty with the U.S. following the Spanish-American War, it constituted a certain definite safeguard for American interests against possible competition or conflict with those of any other imperialist power. The U.S. wanted to conserve the right to intervene in Cuba any time. Now, this guarantee is no longer necessary because the American capitalists by the extent of their economic holdings on the island no longer have anything to fear from their imperialist rivals. It was therefore possible to give up the Platt Amendment as a concession to the masses without really losing anything essential thereby.

But in spite of sops and promises, the Cuban workers have learned that there is nothing for them but further misery and exploitation under the Mendieta regime which has come to differ but little from that of Machado. Furthermore, having once had a taste of their own power, during the revolutionary months from August 1933 to January 1934, they are determined to march forward to still greater conquests.

The present strike wave, while it indicates clearly the need for some sort of permanent united front organism, also shows that the masses who were able to overthrow the tyrant Machado through their mass action, having not forgotten the experience of that struggle. General strikes of revolutionary political significance have taken place in many cities and in many industries. The recent general strike in Santiago de Cuba was a model for solidarity and unanimity. Even the prisoners in the city jail declared a hunger strike in solidarity with the industrial and transportation workers.

In spite of the Stalinist policy not hitting too hard against American imperialism, the workers on numerous sugar plantations and transportation lines, are preparing for sharp battles, at the time of the coming zafra, or harvest.

The Bolshevik Leninist Party is striving to establish a united front in the unions and elsewhere. Such a united front is absolutely indispensible for the struggle against the establishment of an open military dictatorship, and in order to open up the possibilities of a new revolutionary advance in the near future.

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REPRESSIONS IN COSTA RICA

As an aftermath of the heroic struggle of the Costa Rican banana workers, the government of that republic is carrying out a most brutal series of repressions against all who were known to have participated in the leadership of the movement. The issue of Sept. 30 of **Trabajo,** organ of the Communist Party of Costa Rica, informs us that 58 workers are imprisonedin the port of Limon, in addition to others who are held in the capital. Armed bands of police and gangsters at the service of the United Fruit Company are hunting many other strike organizers in the mountains and jungles as if they were wild beasts to be trailed to their lairs and exterminated. Through its mass following in the unions throughout the country and its parliamentary representatives, the C. P. is conducting a campaign demanding comp ete and general amnesty for all participants in the fruit workers strike.

EDITORIAL

Stalinism in an Impasse - -

IN another column appears a report of united front development in Belgium, where one of the slogans of the Socialist Young Guard and the "Trotskyite" youth is "for the defense of Comrade Leon Trotsky against capitalist persecution". The Y.C.L., after joining, has quit the united front on orders from its bureaucratic elders. The latest **Communist**, official "theoretical" organ of the American Stalinists, contains Earl Browder's most recent speech to the Central Committee of the C.P., in which he warns that "such dangers will arise here also". Indeed, they have already, with the New York Yipsels refusing the Y.C.L.'s demand that the "Trotskyites" be barred from united front actions. As a result, the working class youth of New York has achieved unity on anti-Fascist questions, and the Stalinist youth is on the outside.

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In the same report, Browder discusses the C.P. attitude toward the Musteites (who, in other recent official C.P. utterances, have been called left social-fascists, social-fascists and even fascists!). Browder announces that wherever the "Musteites" have mass influence (as in the unemployed movement in Ohio, Pennsylvania and West Virginia), the C.P. will make a united front on the immediate issues involved. These remarks cast an interesting light on the **Daily Worker's** recent comical pleas to the "honest rank and file workers" in the American Workers Party and the Communist League (what a concession!) not to let their organizations fuse for the purpose of building a new party.

The Stalinist bureaucracy has seen the handwriting on the wall! Every day it becomes more difficult for them to isolate from the class as a whole the genuine revolutionary groupings, and when the banner of a new party, a Marxist party, has been flung to the breezes there will rise questions and situations which not even the oracles of 13th Street will be able to explain away. Every indication is that serious trouble will develop within the ranks of Stalinism itself, and the impending readmission to the C.P. of the right-wing Stalinists under Lovestone, will only accentuate these conflicts.

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All this bodes well for the new party movement, but it should not lull comrades into happy dreams. The Stalinist bureaucracy, with its relatively powerful material resources, remains a force capable of tremendous destructive and disruptive work. And, as previously whenever it has gotten into an impossible situation with respect to the "Trotskyites", it will not hesitate to resort to the vilest tactics to drown out the voice of its revolutionary critics. When slander and maneuvers fail, outright physical "criticism" will again be on the order of the day. "Even" Jay Lovestone, who lately denounced the C. P. for breaking up his meetings, may revert to an earlier and more natural attitude toward such tactics.

We shall, however, as in the past, know how to give a good account of ourselves.

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About Some Contemporaries - -

LAST week's **New Leader** attacked sharply the editors of the **Nation** and **New Republic,** calling them "swivel-chair revolutionists", and condemning those who, contributing nothing to the workers' fight, assume a critical attitude toward "labor leaders". The immediate cause of the **New Leader's** outburst was the **Nation's** and **New Republic's** articles condemning the United Textile Workers leaders for the general strike "settlement".

The official organ of New York Socialism applauds the actions of Green, McMahon, Gorman and Co., calling the settlement a strategic retreat. Much is made of the threat to the strike lying in the lack of relief funds. But nothing is said of the responsibility of this condition. As the **Militant** said weeks ago, Green could, with a stroke of the pen, have provided all necessary funds; had the A. F. of L. asked every affiliated union to levy an assessment for the strike fund of the textile strikers, millions of dollars would have been available.

"The union was saved," boasts the **New Leader.** The leaders' faces were saved . . . but is the union saved with those Southern workers who are paying for their first trade union action by the loss of their jobs?

In helping whitewash the U.T.W. bureaucrats, the **New Leader** shows itself unregenerate. The position of the Socialist "militants" is here put to a real test. Not by revolutionary phrases alone can they seriously differentiate themselves from the Old Guad, but primarily by their attitude on such questions as the textile settlement. Thus far they have not done so; as far as the class knows, they are at one with Waldman, Lee and O'Neal on this question. It is up to the Militants to show their colors in this situation.

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As for the **Nation** and **New Republic,** there is ground enough for serious complaint. Their criticism of the textile settlement is, unhaphappily, justified. But more than once they have attacked labor leaders improperly.

Last spring, for example, Louis Adamic in the **Nation** criticized the leaders of the steel union. Good enough; nobody is more critical of Mike Tighe than we "Trotskyites". But when Adamic charged that the A. A. leaders' loud squawks against boss intimidation of union members were designed to scare workers into company unions, he was talking vicious nonsense taught him by Stalinists who have "proved" more than once that the A. F. of L. unions are "company unions".

And more than once these liberal papers have thus reflected Stalinist ideology in their appraisals and indiscriminate criticism of the trade union movement. And this at the very moment when the liberal editors are labeling Roosevelt's newest National Run Around wrinkle "an interesting innovation", and Upton Sinclair's dangerous fad "worthy of examination"!

The Communist League has often suffered at the hands of these same liberal editors. Any bit of decayed Stalinist slander or baloney, if perfumed enough by the devious Louis Fischer or the specious Joe Freeman, can find its way into their papers. Their pages are always open to attacks on "counter-revolutionary Trotskyism", masked as a "defense of the Soviet Union". The League's views, on the other hand, are rarely given a chance in these "open forums".

With the **New Leader's** view of the textile settlement, we have nothing in common, but we have a degree of sympathy with criticism of "swivel-chair revolutionists", whose petty bourgeois reactionarism is reflected in their praise of the latest crackpot Utopia, and whose petty bourgeois radicalism is reflected in a fawning attitude toward the brass-lunged Stalinist bureaucrats. It is about time for a showdown with these liberals, and we put it to them this way:

You say you reject the policies of Green, McMahon, Gorman and Co. Well, what is to be done Stop wise-cracking, and give us **your** program for the American trade union movement.

* * * *

Of course, if you have a program, that makes it more difficult.

But the Communist League of America has, and it is on the basis of its trade union program that the League criticizes the labor bureaucrats. More than that: on this basis it acts, as the workers of Minneapolis and other cities will testify.

On this question, the **Militant** is prepared to debate not only with the liberal editors, but with the **New Leader** as well.

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Crocodile Tears —

THE latest **Labor Action,** A.W.P. organ, publishes an "authoritative" report of developments in the International Communist League, especially in France. The author bemoans the "tragedy" of the "disintegration" of the I.C.L. This moaning is as premature as the chortlings of the Stalinists over our oft-reported death.

This French "Trotskyite" fraction, which has entered the French S. P. openly advocating a Fourth International based upon the revolutionary principles of Marx and Lenin, is, after a few short weeks, larger than it was when it entered the billowing sea that now rolls where once all was stagnant swamp. Latest reports from brother-sections in Spain, Brazil, China, South Africa and other countries indicate substantial progress. The American section is not only larger than ever before; its rate of growth undergoes steady acceleration.

The **Labor Action** article is not only wrong as to facts. It is a work of questionable sincerity.

The author speaks of "tragedy", but his tears seem to be made in Hollywood. True, the French League split, and it is always to be regretted when not everybody does the right thing. But what was right? Does the author weep because a large majority went into the French S.P., or because a small minority stayed out? Did he want all the "Trotskyites" to go in, or all to stay out? Or is it all fiddlesticks to him? It certainly seems that he does not give a damn what the French "Trotskyites" do, if only they will disappear. But they will not, never fear.

Although the editors of **Labor Action,** and in another article A. J. Muste individually, dissociate themselves from the tendency of the "authoritative" report, the piece can but confuse A.W.P. members. We can, however, hardly quarrel with the following statements concerning the French development in Muste's own article, and we commend them to the attention of his comrades:

> "We are firmly convinced that this and similar tendencies must not be superficially accepted or dismissed, but very carefully evaluated. . . . We do not pretend to be able to predict in advance just how in every detail the revolutionary vanguard of the working class will be gathered into the new party . . . These questions we are at all times ready to discuss. Once again we say: There is *no time to be lost.* We must get on the right road, the road of the New Party, and press forward!"

To this let us add that the National Committee of the Communist League of America, as well as some of the branches (others are now discussing the question), has considered the French comrades' action in a far from superficial manner. Because of the imminence of the decisive hour in France, because of the existing united front and the prospective organic unity of the Socialists and Stalinists of that that country, because the French League had been barred from the united front, and **because the French S. P. is in a state of flux with a leftward drift** sufficiently powerful already to have expelled the right wing led by Renaudel, Deat and Marquet (an action still beyond the force or courage of the American S. P.), we consider our French comrades' action to be the best step they can make at this moment toward the concentration of revolutionary elements who will eventually become the backbone of the French section of a Fourth International.

True, this could not have been predicted six months ago, and Muste is correct when he remarks that we cannot predict every detail of the process of establishing a new party.

In this country, however, next steps are clear. **We have every hope** that the joint committee of the C.L.A. and the A.W.P. will soon have produced a satisfactory programmatic declaration, and that we may go on to organizational steps. As the first organization in this country to raise the question of a new international and party in a revolutionary and realistic manner, we welcome Comrade Muste's statement:

"There is no time to be lost."

Anti-Fascists Demonstrate

(Continued from Page 1)

demonstration there.

The demonstrators arriving at the Yankee Stadium found a meeting of the Stalinists, numbering about 500, going on. They assembled their forces about 150 feet from them. Lifting their banners, they started marching along Girard Ave., passing the assembled Stalinists with the slogan "We Will Fight Fascism to Death" emblazened on an enormous banner. Many of the Stalinist workers set up the shout for one united front against fascism which was answered with cheering acclaim by the demonstrators in the united front. But the petty bureaucrats of Stalinism would not have it. Defying the wishes of the workers assembled, these puny bureaucrats, masquerading as working class leaders, set their bureaucratic foot down and answered NO!

From both sides came shouts of: let's unite! And so committees for both demonstrations met to see if the united front already in the sreets could not somehow be realized. It could not. Why? Because the Stalinists would not have it. Because the Stalinists reiterated their anti-working class and reactionary demand that they would unite only—ONLY—if the "Trotskyites" and "Lovestoneites" were excluded. Not a united front of INCLUSION but of EXCLUSION In other words, no united front at all. Still determined to have the desired unity of action, it was decide to poll the Yipsels to see if they democratically desired the united front with the Stalinists to the exclusion of the "Trotskyites" and "Lovestoneites". So a vote was taken. All Yipsels were asked to raise their hands in agreement with the policy of exclusion of the two aforementioned organizations. An octogenarian Stalinist, disguised as a Yipsel, lifted his feeble hand. The demonstrations then went their respective ways.

Most, a member of the Y.P.S.L., then went over to the Stalinist demonstration asking for the platform as a rank and file young Socialist. He utilized the platform mainly to point out the reasons why common action could not be consummated between the anti-fascist united front demonstration and the Stalinists. A young Stalinist then demanded the platform of the united front (despite the fact that "Trotskyites" had spoken therefrom) and utilized it to enlighten the workers assembled that his organization, the Young Communist League, "was opposed in principle" to including in united fronts what he was wont to term renegades. And in the face of all the facts, in the face of Germany, in the face of their own disruption of the united front in Belgium, in the face of Madison Square Garden, in the face of the "united front from below", in the face of all this, this person attempted to make an impression on the workers with the statement that the "Trotskyites" have always been against the unity of working class action! Comrade Garrett of the Spartacus Youth League followed him on the platform and tore his arguments to shreds. At the conclusion of his remarks the workers who had remained apathetic to the exhortations of the young Stalinist, cheered comrade Garrett to the echo.

The demonstration before the Yankee Stadium (it never really came too close to the Stadium because of the formidable array of cops) dispersed about 4:30 in the afternoon. The demonstrators marched in orderly fashion to the nearest subway station. Most of the workers had assembled on the 161st Street station. While waiting for trains to come along the workers yelled their defiance at the fascists assembled inside of the stadium, the proceedings of which could be observed from the elevated platform. The cops rushed the platform and began shoving and pushing those assembled on the platform into the first subway train that came along. But the subway cars couldn't get full enough for the cops and so they pushed, elbowed, squeezed and kicked people into them. This very naturally aroused the feelings of the workers. A few young workers protested against this and were immediately set upon by the cops and one young girl, a Yipsel, was attacked by literally ten cops in an effort to "quiet" her protests at being kicked into a subway car. At least two or three other young workers were severely beaten up.

Spanish Workers Fight Reaction

(Continued from Page 1)

where the Workers Alliances were functioning, that the general strike and the insurrectionary movement were most successful. Asturias is the clearest demonstration of this fact. This is the only province where every single force in the labor movement participated in the united front and it is precisely here that the struggle was best organized, and most tenaciously carried forward. Therein lies another experience that the world revolutionary movement should analyze and digest.

It would be presumptuous at the present moment, and from a distance, with faulty and insufficient information on the present state of affairs, to predict what the morrow may bring. However, we can and do affirm that there is still a way out and that the Spanish workers may yet smash Fascism before it is able to consolidate itself.

The present struggle is demonstrating in action that not one of the traditional tendencies of the Spanish labor movement can, as at present constituted, lead the workers to victory. The Socialist Party has shown itself to be a heterogeneous combination of reformist and revolutionary elements which by its composition is incapacitated to lead a successful revolution. The Stalinists, as elsewhere, having no real policy excepting that of vacillation and zig-zag which can permit of them being simultaneously for and against the united front, are equally impotent. As to the Anarchists—the less said the better—they refused to join the Workers Alliance, were the last to join the movement and the first to order the return to work. If the workers are to achieve victory, a new revolutionary communist party must be formed.

These experiences acquired in the crucible of the present civil war, will be assimilated and understood by the workers during the weeks and months to come, will be invaluable in laying the basis for future steps to be taken. With their heroic traditions and rich experiences, a breathing space, even with the minimum of civil guarantees, would give an opportunity for further development of the National Workers Alliance. This task must now take precedence over all others, and in the struggle to create the future organs of power of the Spanish working class, the new Communist Party, necessary for final victory, will be forged.

BROWNSVILLE SOCIAL
Fall Frolic and Dance
The 3 volumes of History of Russian Revolution will be offered as a prize.
Music - Dancing - Entertainment
Refreshments.
Saturday, October 20, 8 P.M.
Admission 20c

Out in Russian
WAR AND THE FOURTH INTERNATIONAL
15c per copy.
10c in bundles of 5 or more.
Branches Order Your Copies Now!

Vote for New Party!

(Continued from Page 1)

a vote away. Neither of these parties bear the banner of the struggle for a proletarian dictatorship. They are remnants of the past, carrying on only to the detriment of the working class.

For the New Revolutionary Party

A new working class revolutionary party must be and will be built. It will fill a vital need. The fusion between the American Workers Party and the Communist League is a milestone in this direction. We are working hard towards this end, and are confident that our efforts will come to early fruition.

In the meantime, the elections are before us. What are the revolutionary workers to do? The Communist League calls upon them to write in the name of James P. Cannon for Governor of New York as a vote for the new party. Such a vote for the new party is a demonstration for revolutionary action in the trade unions and the strikes. It is a demonstration for the proletarian revolution.

* * *

The Communist League of America, in the election campaigns now taking place throughout the United States, will not support the candidates of any existing political party.

In the past, when we were a faction of the Third International endeavoring to reform that body, we generally supported the candidates of Stalinism. Since the German debacle, and the failure of the C.I. to react, the hope of reforming the Third International has become as utopian as the hope of reforming the Second International. Neither of these internationals being a possible instrument to overthrow capitalism, we have made a turn toward the establishment of the Fourth International and jointly with all forces moving to the left, to the building of new revolutionary parties in every country.

In the United States we are in a transition stage from our existence as a faction of the Third International to our role as a political party. Organic unity between the Communist League of America and the American Workers' Party upon a Marxian programatic declaration is an immediate objective. In this transition period before a new revolutionary party is formed, we are conducting a campaign for candidates under the banner of the Communist League of America. We will write in the names of our candidates, and a sticker campaign will be conducted wherever possible. Members will receive information from district and city committees.

The immediate demands of the workers in their struggle against the further lowering of the standard of living is the burning issue of the day. But this struggle cannot be led to victory by reformist or centrist policies, such as those of the Socialists, Stalinists or Farmer Laborites. The most important immediate task is, consequently, the building of a new revolutionary party in the United States. To further this end the C.L.A. will nominate its own candidates in the coming elections.

BROWNSVILLE LECTURE
"The Road Towards a New Revolutionary Workers Party"
Speaker:
A. J. MUSTE
Friday, October 19, 8:30 P.M.
1776 Pitkin Avenue, nr. Stone St.
Auspices: Communist League of America, Brownsville Branch

BRONX OPEN FORUM
Reform of the 2nd International or A Fourth International
Speaker:
ARNE SWABECK
Friday, October 26, 8 P.M.
1739 Boston Road, Bronx
Auspices: Bronx Branch C. L. A.

BORO PARK BRANCH ATTENTION!
Comrades and sympathizers of Boro Park, Bensonhurst and Bay Ridge are asked to note the address of the Headquarters. Forums are held every Friday night. Spartacus forums Thursdays. Affairs on Saturdays. Open every night.
1281 49th Street
West End train to 50th St. Station.

COSTUME DANCE
Saturday, October 20 at 8 P.M.
144 Second Avenue
Refreshments - Drinks - Dancing.
Prizes for best costumes.
Admission:
15c with costume
20c without costume
Music by
Fred Barren's Jazzmaniacs
Proceeds to The New International.
Auspices: Downtown Branch.

Passenger to Chi. Wanted
Passengers to share expenses to Chicago. Big comfortable car. Stay twelve days. Leaving October 20th. Inquire Militant Office. Telephone GRamercy 5-9524.

Scottsboro Boys In Danger In New Turn of Case

(Continued from Page 1)

known to everybody who recalls the McNamara boys; after 22 years they still sit in San Quentin prison, because the judge did not keep his part of the deal when the defendants threw themselves on his mercy.

It is to be hoped that the treacherous Liebowitz will not get hold of the court-room aspect of the case. And in any case, the problem of the boys lives and the problem of the principles involved, remain to be solved. The latest developments in the Scottsboro struggle, which leave the prisoners open to the treacherous attacks of an unscrupulous gangsters' lawyer who regards them as "niggers" as pawns in his play for personal gain, are not simply a vindication of the position taken eighteen months ago by the **Militant.** They are a terrible blow to the prisoners and, of prime importance, **to the principles and methods of struggle which the prisoners' cause has come to symbolize.** The principles are those of the rights of the Negro masses, of the war against lynching and Jim Crow. The methods are those of militant mass struggle. For, unhappily, large sections of workers (as well as the whole bourgeois press) thinks that the I.L.D.'s occasional adventuristic stunts (designed to obscure the rotten opportunism of its deal with Liebowitz) constitute "mass pressure!"

Yes, the new developments are a blow to the cause of Negro freedom, to the tactic of mass pressure, as well as to the boys, **and this is the greatest crime of the I.L.D.** The Negro masses, the working class, the true militant defender of democratic rights against Bourbon reaction and tyranny, will have to foot this bill run up by the I.L.D. before we can wipe the slate clean. Those who **talk** "fight" on all possible and many impossible occasions, have, by their complacent association with a double-dealing scoundrel, jeopardized the interests of the whole Negro masses and the whole working class and of every enemy of lynch justice. The mud which the bourgeoisie, through Sam Liebowitz and his clerical body-servants, will now sling upon the I.L.D., will also fall upon our banners, however undeservingly. It must not be allowed to stick!

Sectarianism Bred Opportunism

We point all this out not to say "we *told you so*", but as a mere introduction to a vital problem: what are the next steps in the Scottsboro case?

In its discussion in 1933, the **Militant** showed that opportunism toward Liebowitz was combined with fierce sectarianism toward the working class. The line of the Stalinists was "Social-Fascism" and "united front from below" Like the Mooney Congress, Scottsboro united fronts included only the I. L.D. and other Stalinist "front" organizations. Indeed, the cringing before Liebowitz was Earl Browder's idea of how to surmount the I.L.D.'s financial and organizational bankruptcy without going into a real united front.

Today, as then, the **Militant** advocates an inclusive, militant, organizational united front on behalf of all class war prisoners, most immediately the Scottsboro boys. This united front should arouse the masses, so that, having observed them in action, the country's rulers shall know that millions of workers are passionately devoted to the proposition that the Scottsboro boys shall not die. This does not mean sending a dozen workers to be clubbed on the steps of the Supreme Court the day after (or the day before) the Justices decision is crystallized on the printed page of the court record. It means bringing into great meetings, and onto the streets, scores of thousands of workers during the whole period which intervenes before the Supreme Court acts.

The slogan of the day is, above all others, **For a New Scottsboro Mass Movement!**

And by this we do not mean a "united front" of the I.L.D. with the N.C.D.P.P., the C.P., the W.I.R., the T.U.U.L., the I.C.O.R. and the Bronx Housewives League. We mean an entirely new movement which will be able to draw in all the conscious elements of the working class and broad strata of the Negro masses. Our organization is prepared to take its place in such a movement. Our present mass contacts are small—but what they are, we are ready to use them in the interests of the Scottsboro boys. Such a movement should also hope immediately to draw in the Socialist Party, Negro mass organizations still passive in this struggle, A. F. of L. locals, and many other organized groups.

The **Militant** calls to the attention of members of such bodies, the historic Scottsboro case. We well realize how you feel about the I.L.D., which derided your sincerity and insulted your intelligence. Do not, however, succumb to the temtation to "leave the I.L.D. out on a limb". The workers' task is to save the nine boys, whatever happens to the I.L.D.

Raise this question in your organization and let your officials know you are deeply concerned, that you want your organization in the fight. There is no excuse, not even the I.L.D.'s record, for any organization claiming to represent the interests of democracy, the Negro masses or the workers, staying out of this great battle. Too much is at stake for quibbling.

The I.L.D. pretense to be a militant class organization fools nobody. It is but the defense organization of a sect, the Stalinists. More than that: it is too late to try to remake the I.L.D. into a non-partisan defense arm of the working class. We have, consequently, put on our program the task of building a really militant and really non-partisan defense organization. The Provisional Committee for Non-Partisan Labor Defense, which advocates the formation of such a body to fill the need of the class, has our hearty support.

Consequently, any advice we give the I.L.D. is not for the purpose of saving that decaying relic of a once useful institution. But advice we must give, for the sake of the principles at stake and the Scottsboro boys themselves, and here, leaders of the I.L.D., here it is:

Do not impede those who try to bring the masses into the fight!

Today the Y.P.S.L. in New York is ready to enter united fronts with the Stalinists, but not to the exclusion of the Communist League, which is what the Stalinists demand of the Y.P.S.L. The League will do its utmost to create the broadest possible united front. And the League will not withdraw from it at Browder's behest or anyone else's. **It will not remove from the struggle the one force which has consistently advocated a correct policy in the Scottsboro case.**

We warn the leaders of the I.L.D.:

The Scottsboro struggle is approaching another crisis; the masses are not actively interested; the danger is grave. If because of your hatred of the "Trotskyites", or for any other reason, you hamper the development of a militant united front movement, the working class will hold you to account!

Ordinary human beings, after having perpetrated such a mess as the I.L.D. now drops into the laps of the Negro masses and the working class, might be expected at least to maintain a momentary silence while others voice their views! But we do not expect that even their latest debacle will germinate humility in the stonyi chests of the Stalinist bureaucracy.

To the members of the I.L.D., we say this: make your leaders abandon their horseplay and their sabotage of the Scottsboro united front; compel the Stalinist bureaucrats to take a serious class attitude before it is too late.

For a new Scottsboro mass movement!

For the united front on behalf of the Scottsboro boys!

A. F. of L. Convention

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unions. This is a step forward.

Again it must be stated that even those who support the industrial form of union and oppose the craft form are not favoring this step because they are left-wingers, as the press would have us believe. Lewis and his group are just a little more far-sighted than Green and Woll. Lewis has experience with the miners and knows that unless these new industrial forms are adopted the A. F. of L. cannot broaden its base and function effectively as a class collaboration machinery for the bosses.

Types ike Lewis and Company desire to head off the real left wing. The fight, however, does not revolve around this point. Industrial unionism is the first step. The next step is to obtain a leadership with a class struggle policy. The new developments favor the left wing. We must fight for the extention of the industrial unions throughout the A. F. of L. structure. We must fight for a class struggle policy. Only on this basis can we fight the bosses, their company unions, and their agents within our ranks—Green, Woll, Lewis, Tobin and others.

The convention would not be complete unless at regular intervals the labor leaders drag out the "red scare". They did this through a speech that Lewis delivered at the Commonwealth Club when he warned them against a revolt by labor in the United States unless the employers recognize Section 7a, and live up to it. The fat boys are bargaining for all they are worth. Haven't they been good servants in the strike waves under the NRA? Give them a chance and they will do much better.

The need of the hour is an organized progressive opposition in every union against the present conservative leaders. The Socialists and Stalinists have proven themselves incapable of this task. This task, like many others can only be accomplished by a new revolutionary Marxian party. Speed up the building of a new party and a Fourth International.

—HUGO OEHLER.